

Towards the Liberation of the Black Nation: Organize for New Afrikan People's War!



***They thought they killed you,
but I saw you yesterday.***

Assata Shakur, Youngblood

New Afrikan Freedom Fighter



MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA

February 18, 1944 - October 23, 1981

Murdered by Detective Irwin Jacobson, NYPD

***How can we talk about a nation and not talk about an army.
That's not realistic. Every nation has an army. So, power to
the people's army. The nation must come to fruition through
revolutionary action.***

MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA • 1975

COMMITTEE TO HONOR NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Dedicated to the memory of Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata
and all New Afrikan Freedom Fighters who have
given their lives in the struggle for
Land, Independence and Socialism.

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Consolidating the Most Advanced Forces in the New Afrikan Independence Movement

The question of why there is a need for consolidating the most advanced forces in the New Afrikan Independence Movement must begin with a dialectical materialist analysis of the political and armed struggle dynamics within the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement. This analysis should cover the period of 1964 to 1982. The rationale for examining this particular period is 1) to direct the analysis to one of the most significant periods in the rise of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, and 2) to capsule the major historical events that occurred in the development and spiraling of the Black Liberation Movement inside the U.S.A. By making a dialectical materialist analysis of key events in a particular epoch of Revolutionary Nationalist history, qualitative leaps and major mistakes can be isolated and critiqued to sharpen our political theory and military practice of people's war and the building of a people's army.

From 1964 to 1982, a short period in protracted struggle, revolutionaries would witness twists and turns, leaps and setbacks in the Black Liberation Movement that would have irreparable damage to the movement and more significantly would break the confidence of the masses to support revolutionary ideology and practice. This was true for both military actions by the Black Liberation Army and political activism by above ground forces.

During this eighteen year epoch the Black movement would swing from left to center, and from center to right, due to changes in leadership, availability of material resources, or the lack thereof with each constituency. The left constituency consists of vanguard militarists who saw armed struggle occurring only within the context of the foco theory ("the fundamental principle of the organization is that revolutionary action in itself, generates revolutionary awareness, organization and conditions"). The center consists of the petit bourgeoisie nationalists, and the right the Black capitalists. The inability to unite the most scientific and ideologically pure from each of these sectors and the failure to tie concrete struggle into the masses' struggles was a major problem. Disunity among the most advanced forces was due to the absence of a single revolutionary ideology putting forth a mass line, and lack of a highly disciplined structure to build above and below ground infrastructures. Lack of organization and ideological disunity by advanced forces alienated them from the people. This inevitably led to the compromise in theory and practice of building revolutionary structures, public and clandestine, that had a mass base character and offered programs and services that could serve the needs of the people. These were fundamental contradictions during this eighteen year epoch of revolutionary struggle. A cursory review of the history during this period overwhelmingly supports these contentions:

1965— The assassination of Malcolm forced RAM underground and the Black Liberation Movement lost its mass spokesman that could ignite and unite the people. After Malcolm's assassination the movement was in disarray for seven years because of its dependency on a charismatic leader to pull together the above and below organization.

1966— The Black students movement began with the organizing of Black Students Unions and Black Studies programs, the first being at S.F. State College under the Black Panther Party leadership and ideological direction. The Black Students Union movement reached its peak by 1970. The failure of Black students nationally to read and respond to Governor Ronald Reagan and S.F. State University President S.I. Hayakawa's fascist onslaught and liquidation of the Black students movement was a major tactical error which college administrators learned from and took advantage

example of the mass public movement supporting the armed clandestine movement. The campaign also served as a means to develop political consolidation of Revolutionary Nationalists in struggle together in a national formation.

1981— New Afrikans support International Day of Solidarity with the ChicanoMexicano people organized by the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional and the Komite de Defensa Popular. The mobilization took place in Juarez, Mexico and El Paso, Texas on May 1-2 1981. This event is significant as a landmark date of the political unity gained by national liberation and anti-imperialist forces committed to the destruction of the u.s. imperialist state, Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico, Socialist Reunification of Mexico, and Land, Independence and Socialism for the New Afrikan Nation. This unity is an important key to our victory and the destruction of u.s. imperialism.

There is a consensus within the New Afrikan Independence Movement that there is a void of revolutionary initiative, and dynamic leadership to guide and serve the masses of New Afrikan workers, students, and radical petit bourgeoisie. More significantly is the absence of a dialectical materialist revolutionary nationalist organizational structure that could pull the masses under one ideological direction, recruit the youth and Black workers under a highly disciplined political and military structure.

From this analysis and history the issue and need for a new, highly disciplined organizational structure that offers community programs to serve the people needs to evolve.

The goal is to consolidate the most advanced revolutionary forces who have a history of supporting in line and practice armed struggle and People's War for land and independence. Failure to consolidate the most advanced forces in this period will only further retard the movement and keep it ideologically fractured. The central task for the most advanced forces in the New Afrikan Independence Movement is to unite around strategic political and military principles, and build militant community activism around people's survival needs for the people's revolution.

Imperialism can and must be defeated. It is only through organizing popular support of the masses for people's war, land and independence that oppressed nations inside Amerikkka will be liberated. Within this revolutionary Union there may be points of difference on tactics, and on different positions of ideological persuasion, but fundamentally what constitutes their Union is their unity on revolution, armed struggle for land and independence in Amerikkka.

1.

What is the State of Affairs in New Afrika's Struggle for Land and Independence

Fascism is on the rise and the New Afrikan community is unprepared to defend itself. The consolidation of the right wing by the so-called "American thoroughbreds," bloodthirsty Ronald Reagan, ex-CIA chief George Bush, ex-NATO Commander General Alexander Haig, Goldwater, and Strom Thurmond, represents open warfare against both conscious and unconscious New Afrikans.

Organized New Afrikan revolutionary forces above and underground are the most viable and strongest weapon to challenge this fascist machine that is backed by billions of dollars from Wall street and the super rich. If unorganized, these same New Afrikan revolutionaries will be the first to be locked up or assassinated.

The fascist strategy is simply terror, destruction and the death penalty. Concrete examples are Atlanta—23 black babies murdered or missing; upstate New York—five New Afrikans' hearts cut out of their chests; Boston—3 young New Afrikan men murdered by the police, and fourteen New Afrikan women dead from mysterious causes; New Orleans—four New Afrikans murdered; Jackson, Mississippi—a sister murdered in cold blood. All around the country, California, Wisconsin, Boston and Atlanta, the KKK is organizing and killing New Afrikans. What is the strategy of our Black Liberation Movement? And more important, what is the strategy of our Revolutionary New Afrikans?

As a result of colonial war and mental disorders by Imperialist oppression, revolutionary New Afrikans' ranks are divided and dispersed. Our backs are against the wall, and our front line, the peoples revolutionary soldiers, are not prepared to orchestrate and push forward the peoples' war and will of mass resistance.

Consciousness is not enough during this period. Action above and below is supreme. Get-down, tested revolutionaries and comrades who are in the woodwork cannot be inactive during this period. Ego conflicts and ideological diatribes, cultism and arm-chair revolutionaries must be buried so that we can build a new revolutionary vanguard. We cannot afford the luxury of sitting back, talking about correct or incorrect theories of struggle. The New Afrikan communities are under seige, and only through mass work and consolidation of the most dedicated, disciplined revolutionary forces can we defend and attack against Reagan's fascist politics. The Black Liberation Army and the people must be many fish of the same sea which can only be built by a Union of revolutionary soldiers and comrades, locally and nationally.



National Black Human Rights Coalition Black Solidarity Day demonstration at the United Nations, November 5, 1979.

Credit: New Afrikan

For the last fifteen years the New Afrikan community has been through both high and low periods of revolutionary activism. Many beautiful comrades gave their lives for the freedom of New Afrikans in America. Many beautiful comrades fell, had to fight, and literally abandoned the movement because of the confusion in the movement, counterintelligence, and the survival first principle. Despite these setbacks, despite these highs and lows, our struggle for land and independence must and will continue.

In different places, on different fronts in the Black Nation, our war for national liberation by comrades above and below, comrades fighting in the streets and behind the walls, has been carried on in our glorious tradition of resistance. But as a revolutionary movement, our fighting forces above and below were not consolidated under a national structure that could consistently defend and attack simultaneously, with precision from above and below. The end result was that New Afrikan victories quickly turned into defeats because the enemy moved swiftly to exploit and take advantage of our organizational weaknesses. Revolutionary nationalists' effectiveness as a revolutionary movement began to wane. This created a climate and set the stage for regionalism, chauvinism, sectarianism, and a dictatorial type of leadership. The spirit and principles of collective leadership, unity, criticism, and democratic centralism were gradually dissipating. Revolutionary forces above and below were fast losing their links with their local bases that in turn were tied to national structures and strategies for land and independence. Building bases that had national coordination with the above and below ground was becoming more and more difficult because Revolutionary Nationalist fighting forces were no longer working under a national political-military infra-structure, changing their tactics according to the local concrete conditions.

From this history Revolutionary Nationalist leadership emerged not through mass organizing of New Afrikans' peoples' will, but through the projection of personalities, and the propagandizing of organizational structures that had revolutionary ideologies. This resulted in uneven development in the above and below tactics and strategy around land and independence. Those who suffered the most were New Afrikan communities. The mass work of revolutionary nationalists on a national scale became spotty and inconsistent. Our people were at war without a sophisticated above and below machine to move the masses to greater heights of resistance. During this period comrades below were cut off and in some instances abandoned by above ground structures they critically needed for support. The end result was an absence of struggle and coordination on tactics and strategy for New Afrikans seizing of State power.

What must be done during this period? We must close ranks and organize the Union—fire up the New Afrikan Nation for peoples war. Consolidation of local community bases under mass work to vigorously push forward the will of the New Afrikan Nation is the primary task during this phase. How can this best be accomplished in this period? Revolutionary Nationalists, soldiers, and cadre who understand the urgency and necessity for building popular entrenched mass bases, and the movement, under a highly disciplined specialized Black Liberation Army, must join forces. The Black Liberation Army must be invisible and at the same time rooted among the people. This is essential to guide the masses of New Afrikans in people's war for land and independence in America. BUILDING THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD FOR THE ARMY'S SURVIVAL IS A MUST WHICH MUST BE COMPLEMENTED WITH ABOVE GROUND STRUCTURES TO COORDINATE AND PLAN STRATEGIES. THIS IS THE WORK OF THE UNION. AT PRESENT, THIS RELATIONSHIP IS UNDERDEVELOPED. THE CONCEPT AND FRUITION OF THE UNION'S WORK CAN ADVANCE OUR REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST MOVEMENT A GREAT LEAP FORWARD.

THE GOAL OF THE UNION IS TO BUILD THE ABOVE GROUND PROGRAMS THAT CAN BRING THE PEOPLES' WILL AND THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY WILL UNDER ONE MOVEMENT. DURING THIS PERIOD A REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST UNION IS NEEDED TO ORGANIZE THE MASSES OF NEW AFRIKANS UNDER A STRUCTURE THAT FUNCTIONS AS A TIGHT DISCIPLINED POLITICAL-MILITARY FORMATION, THAT IS COMMITTED TO NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLES' WAR FOR LAND AND INDEPENDENCE IN AMERICA.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNION MUST BE TESTED REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS WHO SEE THEIR ROLE IN THIS PERIOD AS ORGANIZING THE MASSES OF UNCONSCIOUS AND CONSCIOUS NEW AFRIKANS NATIONALLY. THIS LOCAL AND NATIONAL ORGANIZING SHOULD BE AROUND SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT NEW AFRIKANS ARE STRUGGLING AROUND. Some of these issues are food, welfare, housing, health, self-defense, youth survival, and POW's. The local conditions and history of previous work would dictate strategies of how to raise the masses consciousness and move them toward resistance in peoples' war. This will occur in separate stages depending on the concrete conditions and based on scientific methods of organizing. Because the Unions' ultimate goal is to prepare the people for New Afrikan Peoples' war, the approach must be well thought out and planned by the initial cadre. The organizing goals, style of work, and method of building the Union is—begin with a few and blossom into many, return to the valley where the people are suffering, move silently and link the masses on one chain.

THE PROGRAMS AND ISSUES OF THE UNION MUST PREPARE AND ARM NEW AFRIKANS TO COMBAT FASCISM AND ECONOMIC OPPRESSION FOR THE 80's.

THE UNIONS COMPOSITION SHOULD BE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS THAT HAVE A HISTORY, PRACTICE, AND COMMITMENT TO PULL THE YOUTH, THE UNEMPLOYED, GANGSTERS, HUSTLERS, WORKERS, AND THE RADICAL PETIT BOURGEOISIE INTO NEW AFRIKANS STRUGGLING FOR LAND AND INDEPENDENCE. The first task during this period is to consolidate those Revolutionaries who agree on the need and necessity for armed struggle, and support of the Black Liberation Army, and have a commitment to build the local and National above ground bases. At this present stage of our movement there are a number of Revolutionaries who have been working to see that the BLA and the people become one Union—these Revolutionary Nationalists have the responsibility to push forward the necessary structure, platform, organizational infra structure, mass line, and time tables for moving the Union straight ahead. This initial group may begin with a few and broaden to include many. "Many" means a national leadership and strategy for the above ground and below that arms the masses of New Afrikans with the ideological clarity and military readiness to defend our Nation.

THE FIRST LINE OF RECRUITMENT SHOULD BE THE FIGHTING FORCES, FOOTSOLDIERS, OLD AND NEW BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO CLEARLY AGREE WITH THE LINE AND ARE COMMITTED TO A TIGHT DISCIPLINE OF COMBAT READINESS.

The Concept of the Union is not the creation of one, two or three individuals who see themselves as leaders of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement. The concept of the Union and its birth will be the pinnacle of the evolution of our new "Black manchild and womanchild" that has blossomed from 400 years of Revolutionary Nationalist struggle. The concept does not belong to and is not the creation of any revolutionary theoretician's genius. Rather, it is the product from a process of logical steps forward in our Revolutionary Nationalist development, politically and militarily.

The Union can become the seed, the idea, the grounding of the spirit and patriotic examples of Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Margaret Walker, Queen Mother Moore and Assata Shakur—all Revolutionary Nationalists who pushed the Black Liberation Movement forward. The Union concept can become the renewed and revitalized revolutionary initiative. The Union can become the instrument that mobilizes, unites and internationalizes the New Afrikan Nation and the Black Liberation Army as one movement.

THE PROCESS BY WHICH WE ORGANIZE THE UNION IS CRITICAL. THIS RESPONSIBILITY AND WORK MUST BE THE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS FROM ABOVE AND BELOW WHOSE PRACTICE SPEAKS TO LAND AND INDEPENDENCE. THESE SOLDIERS, COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS WILL PROTECT THE CHARACTER, SECURITY, GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE UNION.

The Union is not a new movement or attempt to split the movement but rather a reaffirmation of New Afrikans revolutionary struggle in America. The concrete objective of New Afrikans struggle is a political and military struggle for land and independence. For these objectives to become a reality the masses of New Afrikans must be organized and mobilized in a people's war. The success of the people's war requires a people's army. To build the people's army revolutionary nationalists must first consolidate the most patriotic New Afrikans under one structure. Let's close ranks and organize the Union for New Afrikan people's war, land and independence.

**Prepare and Arm New Afrikans
to Combat Fascism in the 80's!**

2. Development/Role of People's War in New Afrikan Independence Movement

The Union's Perspective of People's War in the New Afrikan Independence struggle is founded upon a dialectical materialist analysis of world revolution against racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Our revolutionary practice is guided by Revolutionary Black Nationalism.

As Revolutionary Black Nationalists/Internationalists, we view world revolution as anti-imperialist struggles and protracted wars of national liberation. The New Afrikan independence struggle (war in America) is against this same enemy—racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism and the seizure of state power by revolutionary forces will come only with the escalation of mass resistance and qualitative advancement of armed struggle in America by all of the internal colonies. (New Afrika, Puerto Ricans, ChicanoMexicano, Native American Indian). The political and military consolidation of anti-imperialist forces against U.S. imperialism must build concrete materialist support and ideological unity nationally and internationally. Principled unity in theory and practice must be built for the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

The New Afrikan Nation inside the borders of the U.S. empire has as many as forty million captives under the yoke of racism and imperialism. The New Afrikan Nation presently lacks an organized national revolutionary leadership to provide direction to the masses of exploited New Afrikans. The conditions of racism, exploitation, and genocide affect the New Afrikan Nation drastically. Historically the New Afrikan Nation has been hit by oppression the hardest—because of its qualitative and quantitative revolutionary potential to throw off and break the chains of oppression.

To ultimately defeat U.S. imperialism, the most advanced forces in the revolutionary nationalist's movement must harness and organize this dormant potential. This is the primary task of revolutionaries in the twentieth century. The Union analysis is that the fall of U.S. imperialism both from the level of its colonial domestic contradictions inside its borders and the external contradictions outside its borders will come only from protracted people's war of national liberation for land and independence. These colonial nations are engaged in a life and death struggle for their national liberation. Some of these movements are outside the U.S. borders but which nevertheless are fighting off the tentacles of U.S. imperialism, i.e. Namibia, Azania, El Salvador, Grenada, Puerto Rico, Haiti.

The struggle for land in these wars for national liberation is a struggle for their survival, identity, national culture and sovereignty. All of these nations want to be free from the economic domination of U.S. imperialism.

Politically and militarily, resistance by oppressed nations must ultimately take the form of people's armies and people's militia fighting wars of national liberation. It is only this character and under this leadership that anti-imperialist struggles and world revolution can be grounded and create the social conditions that will change the hands that control the means of production, and restore political, economic and military sovereignty to the indigenous peoples of these lands.

Contrary to western imperialist propaganda, imperialism is on the demise. All over the world its tentacles are being cut off. The seeds of destruction are inherent in its nature. Imperialism was founded and built off the principles of dominating external colonies through military might, controlling political economics by means of exploiting the labor force, and extracting huge profits out of these countries. These profits in the form of surplus capital are used to increase the imperialist's military might. The major objective of these military states is to keep imperialism strong by repulsing the rise of people's war for national liberation and independence.

Inside the United States the crisis between monopoly capitalism, imperialism and the protection of the human rights of oppressed colonies is growing more intense and sharper. The New Afrikan Nation in particular as well as other national liberation movements, are witnessing the final stages and consolidation of a racist right wing government that is fascist, bent on a strategy to crush people's war and the building of a people's army. The consolidation of racist civilians, popular government, and the military is a concrete move toward a fascist dictatorship.

Historically this war strategy, the consolidation of capital, politics, racist ideology and guns has its roots in the continent of Afrika and America. The initial development of colonialist expansion on the North American continent began with the Afrikan slave trade and the genocide perpetrated against the Native American Indians. It was off the backs and brains of these oppressed people that the capitalist system grew into one of the most powerful in the world. Only from this exploitation was racism and monopoly capitalism able to flourish, dominate world markets and raise huge amounts of capital from cotton, tobacco, and sugar. It was the southern bigots and liberal northern industrialists who made a killing from Afrikan slave labor. Today this exploitation is carried out by supra multi-national corporations who prop up military governments and literally run the economics of governments.

The slave trade was not just an economic strategy to exploit Afrikan labor; it was also a military strategy to keep the New Afrikan Nation subjugated and oppressed.



Nat Turner and fellow freedom fighters.

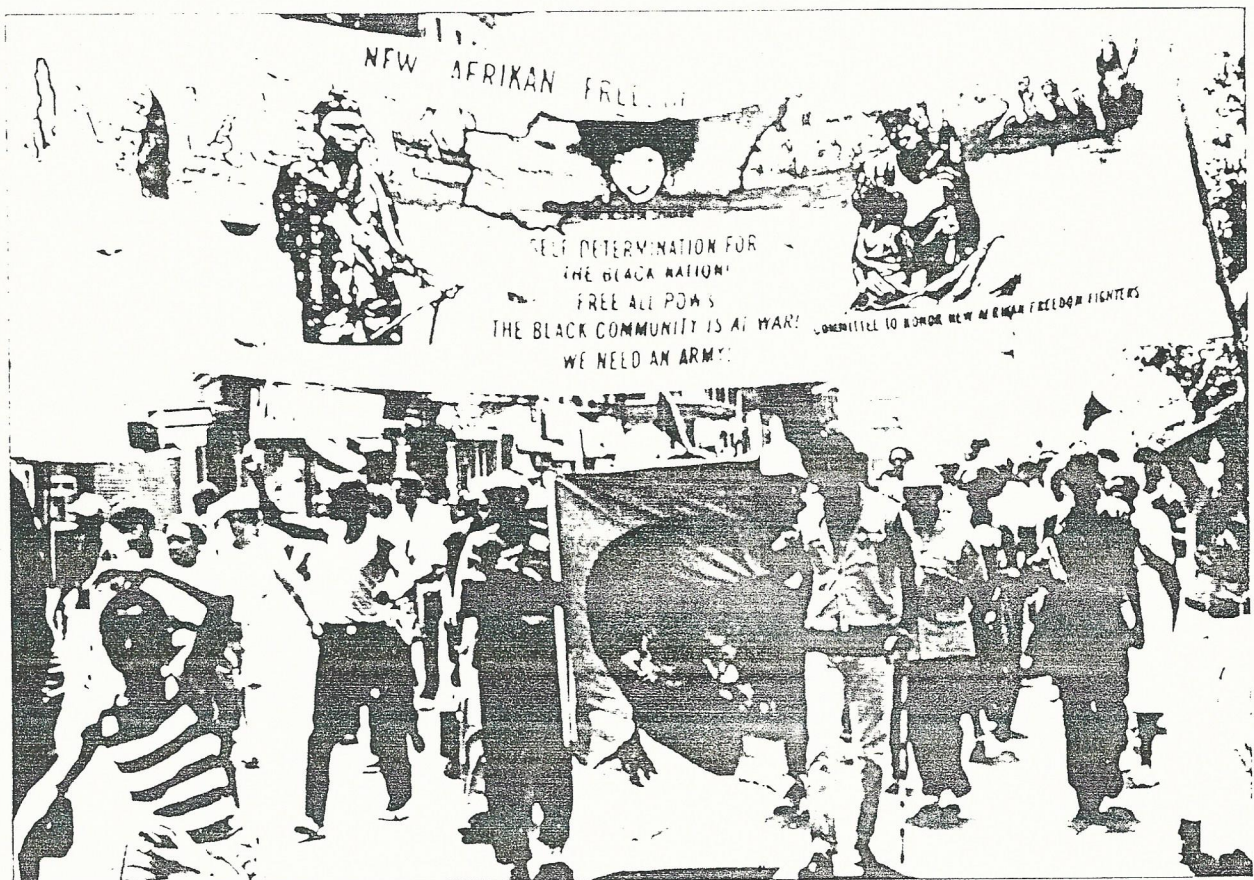
New Afrikan captives were constantly faced with the threat of violence and bloodshed. Force and death were used to strike fear in the hearts of the captured prisoners of war. Slaves who attempted to run away, who rebelled or who planned insurrections when caught were publically dehumanized and brutally murdered. Millions of innocent Afrikan women and children were starved, beaten and inhumanely tortured. The New Afrikan Nation was at war for its survival. This was and is the War in America—but the struggle continues.

The single greatest threat and weapon that captured Afrikans had were armed insurrections. This was the genesis of the Black Liberation Army. The most famous and successful revolution that was led in the western hemisphere was the Haitian Revolution. The Haitian Revolution was a war of national liberation for land and independence. There were other revolutionary nationalist insurrections led by Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser, and other freedom fighters. Slave revolts were the greatest threat to the slave aristocracy and plantation economics. These revolts should be viewed as anti-colonialist wars of resistance and strategies of world revolution.

The majority of these insurrections had their origins in the Black Belt South region where the dominant proportion of the Black population existed. It was here that the New Afrikan Nation was tied to a political economy, where they were the major productive force, and where they had a common history and common culture of oppression. The Black Nation came into existence under the condition of war.

Slave labor in America, Caribbean, Afrika was the dominant productive force in the emancipation of imperialism. In America slave labor was at a surplus which advanced the growth of imperialism. New Afrikans were at the point of production and strategically they represented the greatest threat to sabotage the imperialist productive machinery.

There were constant attempts to neutralize New Afrikan's power. Slave code laws, fugitive slave laws, vigilante terror and divide-and-conquer tactics were used to prevent the New Afrikan Nation from uniting politically and militarily. Despite these counter-revolutionary attacks, resistance continued by the Black Liberation Army. The political



Hundreds were mobilized by the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters on July 18, 1981 in Harlem in support of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters.

and military strategy of this resistance was to raise up the masses for the violent overthrow of the slave aristocracy. The strength to sustain these revolts resided in the unity of freedom fighters and the oppressed nation guided by one revolutionary ideology. This unity was fundamental but was lacking.

The unity of freedom fighters and the masses in the New Afrikan Nation is the heart of building and consolidating the national liberation movement for land and independence. The Union's role in this period of struggle is to take the lead and make this a reality.

The primary task of the Union is to mobilize the masses for people's war. Fundamental to the success of the New Afrikan Independence Movement is the education, organizing, and raising of militant consciousness of New Afrikans to fight against U.S. imperialism on many fronts within the North American borders.

This strategy will necessitate arming the masses of New Afrikans through protracted people's war and the building of a people's army. The development and fruition of the people's armed forces will take on three different organizational forms—the people's militia, clandestine guerrilla forces, and a mobile people's army. The building and consolidation of these political and military forces will require the consolidation in theory and practice of the most advanced forces within the Black Liberation Movement. This is the organizational mandate and the character which the Union will build and grow. It is only through the consolidation of New Afrikan's war for national liberation and independence and anti-imperialist forces that imperialism can ultimately be defeated.

It is therefore crucial to clarify the role of white anti-imperialist forces.

In New Afrikan people's war for land and independence, tactical and strategic alliances will be built with anti-imperialist forces. These forces will remain autonomous and independent of each other. Their relationship will be based upon the materialist reality of the needs of the Black Liberation Movement. Implicit in anti-imperialist support of people's war for land and independence must be the continued principle of self-determination of New Afrikans over the leadership of their movement. No allies can dictate to the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement what the conditions of their support should be. The unity between anti-imperialist forces and New Afrikans must come from protracted struggle and correct practice.

Fundamentally, the New Afrikan Independence Movement and anti-imperialist forces are uniting to defeat a common enemy—U.S. imperialism. The defeat of U.S. imperialism is predicated on the consolidation in practice of tactical and strategic alliances domestically and internationally with anti-imperialist forces.

Tactical alliances deal with political and military support work that have specific but strategic limited objectives. Anti-imperialist forces that develop a style of work that is explicitly under the political and military leadership of the New Afrikan Independence Movement will unite to build protracted long term strategic alliances for specific political and military objectives.

To concretely strike a blow against U.S. imperialism politically and militarily the role of white and other anti-imperialist freedom fighters is fundamental. Politically, anti-imperialist forces must organize revolutionary formations that can escalate civil disobedience and social dislocation inside the citadel of imperialism. This movement should take the form of mass protests and agitation inside the white middle class, students and racist white workers. The white bourgeoisie class are the most vulnerable to being won over and neutralized, especially students and marginal professionals. The tactics are to constantly politicize, divide their ranks and move support from the ruling class and power elite. As the movement builds and spreads, an anti-imperialist liberation front must emerge to lead the anti-imperialist struggle in unity with the New Afrikan Independence Movement for land and independence.

**BUILD THE PEOPLE'S MILITIA!
TAKE THE TRUTH TO THE PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY!
LONG LIVE THE NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS!
BUILD TO WIN! FREE THE LAND!**

3:

Revolutionary Violence and the Theory of Force in the U.S.A.

Violence, when it occurs from the side of the toiling, exploited masses against the exploiters—yes, we are for such violence.

—Lenin, January 11, 1918

At a very early age, Black children are taught in public schools that in 1492 Christopher Columbus sailed on an expedition to find the New World, and very miraculously discovered America. The irony of this so-called "discovery" is the glaring and deliberate omission by historians of the plundering and violence perpetrated against one of the New World's original inhabitants. The Native American Indians were quickly under seige and were forced to defend their lives, land, and culture. Native American Indians had been duped to believe that the foreigners' intentions were honorable and in the interest of fair trade. Catching the Indians completely by surprise, these expeditions quickly became military assaults by the Spaniards, and were soon to be followed by the assaults of the Dutch and English. Their strategy was the same: violence, conquest, and exploitation against a virgin territory and peace-loving people.

A century later, around the turn of the sixteen hundreds, the world would witness another travesty of justice by white men from the same continent, the Dutch, Spaniards, and English. Over two million captive slaves were kidnapped from Africa and shipped to the same North American continent where the Native American Indians had been tricked and slaughtered. The only difference in these war crimes was that the objective was to use Africans as a new labor force for mercantile expansionism, rather than an outright Machiavellian massacre. The colonists declared slaves "the strength and sinews of the western world, and the settlements cannot subsist without them."

The success of these expansionist military expeditions was predicated on the use of beastly force and horrendous violence. The smell of death was constantly used as a weapon and reminder for those slaves who contemplated escape and resistance. Violence was nothing new to the lives of Black people. Blacks had survived the middle passage voyage, where the most brutal and inhuman acts of genocide ever were perpetrated against a race of people.

The role of violence cannot and should not be misinterpreted in this context. Violence was a day to day reality and way of life for Blacks. The role and the use of violence was fundamental in the shaping of interpersonal relationships, values, and psychology between Blacks and whites in America. Throughout this saga, Blacks struggled to survive and defended their human rights for self-determination, national liberation, and independence. Despite overwhelming odds and brutal onslaughts, courageous African prisoners of war, men, women and children, fought, mutinied and resisted the chains of oppression. Black people were at war. Using guns and superior fire power, whites subdued Africans and chained and shackled them to statuses and roles of servitude and property. Blacks were treated as subhumans that were only fit for toiling the crops, housekeeping, and serving as mistresses and house-niggers.

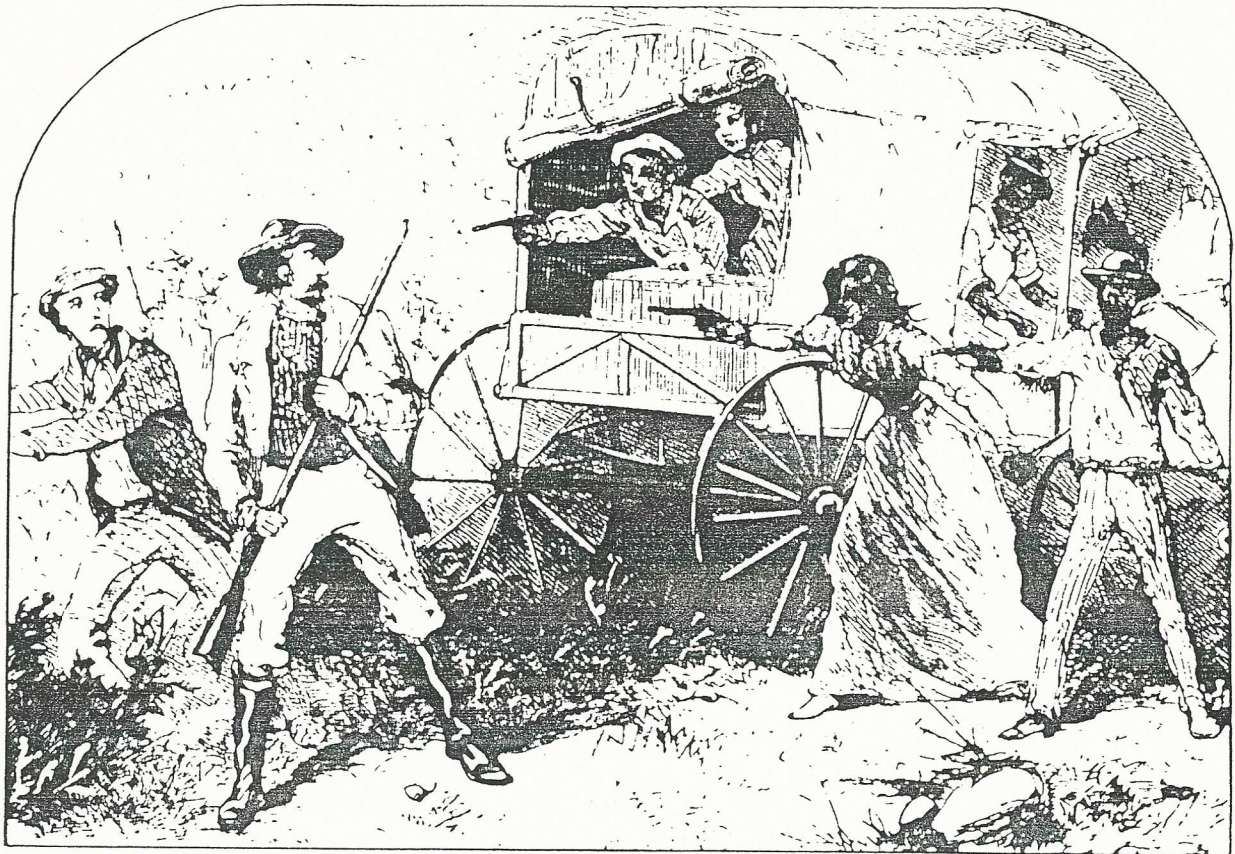
These acts of dehumanization and genocide inflicted permanent psychological damage on the minds and lives of African families and culture. Whites' primary objective was to smother and kill off organized resistance by revolutionary soldiers. This was the climate and inception of the historical, political and economic contradiction between the

finance monopoly capitalist state* and the Black semi-colonial underclass state. This same dichotomy that gave birth and nurtured the slave state and the capitalist state remains clearly drawn today, four hundred years later. Socially, politically and economically, Blacks continue to be oppressed.

These two separate and warring nations, one Black and captive, the other racist and fascist, have lived and died under the presence of unexpurgated violence. Unfortunately, throughout the holocaust Blacks have been the victims and whites the victors. The motivation behind this unscaled violence was not simply raw and racist, but what whites believed to be an economic investment, and a politically strategic objective. Clearly, this was a war strategy for conquest and a lasting oppression. Many hours were spent on torture and brainwashing as preparation treatment, or the breaking-in tactics, for slaves before being sold on the auction block. This was the insurance policy for the new investors.

Southern cracker plantation owners felt it was absolutely essential that African prisoners of war engender a totally submissive and defeated behavior. This behavior was insurance to the plantation owners that the livelihood and maintenance of the plantation economy would not be threatened. These were the circumstances and methods used to guarantee that slave labor became a priceless and invaluable commodity. The huge profits that could be made from this unchecked exploitation of human resources justified violence and perpetuated it for centuries.

**Lenin called this the strengthening of the "state machine", an unprecedented growth of its bureaucratic and military apparatus, in connection with the increase in repressive measures against the proletariat.*



In 1855, a group of teenage Black slaves armed themselves and escaped from Virginia. When a posse of slavecatchers surrounded them, their leader, Ann Wood, raised her weapons and dared the whites to fire. The posse was forced to retreat and the courageous young New Afrikans reached Philadelphia safely.

Because of the millions of dollars in profit that were made off the sweat and backs of African slaves it was essential that their fighting spirit and insurrections be totally suppressed. This was attempted through the use of numerous beatings, killings, rapes, and other war crimes against the captive African colony. Africans were constantly reminded that any small infraction of not satisfying the masters' and mistresses' whims and wishes would result in either violence or death. Very few slaves, men, women and children, were able to escape the wrath of the slave masters' whips, tar 'n feathering, castration, or guns.

This is the historical perspective with which violence should be viewed and analyzed to get the true and accurate history in America. The legacies and roots of violence against Blacks in America are voluminous. Inherent to this history is the backbone and origin of the hostile and antagonistic race relations between whites and Blacks. Understanding this crude reality is the first step in clarifying the distortions of on whom the onus of violence should be placed. It was under these circumstances that violence became legitimate, institutionalized, uncontested, and inevitably a natural way of life for African people in America. Violence was ingrained and institutionalized into whites' socialization process vis-a-vis the plantation state economy and racism.

Befuddled, whites would quickly come to realize that Africans were not intimidated nor effectively repulsed. In keeping with their glorious tradition, slaves revolted, plotted insurrections, killed their slavemasters and mistresses, and burned down plantations. These actions were Revolutionary, *revolutionary violence* against the conditions and perpetrators of Black oppression and genocide.

From this context, violence was and is *Revolutionary* because the function and purpose was to "break the chains of oppression" and exploitation. Violence was not an end in itself, but a strategic tactic to change the miserable and suffering life of oppression. Today violence against Black people continues as a contradiction and weapon of oppression. The relationship between the captured Black nation and the racist monopoly capitalist state has not changed. Southern crackers and northern liberals are keeping their racist history alive by continuing to thrive and maintain the slavemaster political and economic mentality through the subjugation of Blacks.

As a result of four hundred years of exploitation and killings of Blacks, the 20th century heirs of the plantation system have become the new fascist and racist class in America. Blacks were forced to migrate to the north in a quest for better jobs and a better life. Here they would be rudely confronted with a new surge of northern racism and violence. This violence was a response to whites' perceptions of the "New Negro" newcomers as a threat to their economic and social well-being. In East St. Louis in 1917 and in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and a score of other cities in 1919, whites went on the rampage, burning, killing, plundering, and driving Blacks from their homes. In the race riots of 1917 and 1919, Blacks retaliated in kind.

This marks a transition and changing of hands of oppression—the transition from plantation owners to president of large multi-national imperialist corporations; from tobacco, cotton, and sugar slave economies, to the last hired, first fired, mass unemployment, and the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs. Blacks still remain at the bottom and continue to be exploited at work, killed in their communities, and sent to jail by the courts, all at the whims of whites.

Machines and technology that are manufactured and bought with huge profits from slave labor now speed up production to yield greater profits (capital) for the new "corporate" slave masters. Despite these technological advances and large sums of capital made by Blacks, violence, maiming, and the smell of death remained a constant threat to the lives of Black people. The FBI's COINTELPRO unleashed a domestic military counterintelligence campaign that set the Black liberation struggle back twenty years. The assassination of Medgar, Martin, Malcolm, Fred Hampton, and George Jackson were losses the movement and Black people will never forget. Thousands of Revolutionaries were railroaded into jail without bail, or driven underground. Black families came under constant attack, intimidation, and harassment by local police and FBI agents. In Black communities across the country the innocent lives of Black people were snuffed out like flies. Clifford Glover, fourteen Black women in Roxbury, Arthur Miller, Randy Evans, Arthur McDuffie were some of the most notable. There were thousands of other that we didn't hear about. This is the wave of fascism and violence in the 21st Century.

The primary objective is the same as in slavery time, to permanently paralyze and to kill the aspirations and revolutionary fervor and movements of Black people. As the state advanced in its means and mode of production, its machinery for oppressing Africans became more sophisticated and awesome. No longer was it just the southern cracker, northern liberal, or KKK; now it's the private corporations, the CIA, the FBI, and National Guard of the U.S. government.



Police are an occupying army in Black communities across the U.S.

The racist U.S. government uses all of its military apparatus to repulse and attempt to crush every vestige of Revolutionary Nationalist spirit and ideology that remains in the Black Nation. The tactics have changed, but the strategy remains the same—keep nigger communities under a lax seige, closed and cut-off from the profit centers of surplus capital (banks, billion dollar corporations, and shopping centers).

Violence is now orchestrated and perpetrated through the state machinery, the National Guard, SWAT teams, Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Treasury agents, FBI and Secret Service. These gang busters are licensed by the state and federal government to kill any Black without provocation. It still is a military strategy because the U.S. government considers Blacks a threat to their national security.

For the past four hundred years, African lives in America have been fraught with violence and bloodshed. It is in this context of history that violence as a political phenomenon should be *analyzed and countered*. Beginning with the middle passage, thousands of captive Africans shed their blood and took their own lives because they refused to die without dignity. Those who survived the ordeal plotted and carried out many insurrections against American oppression. Thousands of Black soldiers were used in the Civil War to help the Union defeat the South. Many of these Blacks shed their blood in valor and heroic feats because they believed they would live as free men. Based upon this history, the survival and destiny of the race is tied to a will to resist and fight by any means necessary. This is a historical and present reality.

Inside the captive underclass nation, city, state and federal police forces are deployed using the gun to protect the profits and wealth of the capitalist state that kill Black men, women and children at will. This wealth has been amassed from centuries of exploitation and oppression of Black people.

This is the emergence of the theory of force and the true perspective of the role of violence. From violence to force, millions of captive Blacks have given their lives for a better future and better society. But realistically force can only be met with force. This becomes the transition and transformation from submission to resistance, from defeat to victory, from oppression to *revolutionary activity*. The context here is millions of Black people organized with the correct military and political line for self-determination and national independence. The actual demonstration of force in action must occur to give credibility to its threatened use; the threat gains efficacy as an instrument of social and political change.

Strategic operations and Revolutionary assault missions become legitimate and necessary actions for captive Africans' self-determination and dignity as a proud people. The principal contradiction here is the inequality and innumerable human rights violations perpetrated against Black people.

Black people's salvation can only come from the expropriation of land and capital. This is fundamental to captive Africans' reparations and the success of Blacks' revolutionary struggle. All private and state agencies and officers that protect and amass capital are the true enemies and targets for strategic assaults.

The theory of force and Revolutionary violence for the captive Black nation is not a question of deprivation, civil rights or terrorism. Nor is Revolutionary violence motivated out of frustration and aggressiveness to seek vengeance. Revolutionary violence is not a reactive or impulsive action, but rather a political and military strategic objective to break out of captivity and turn defeats into victories, to build and consolidate revolutionary forces in the Nationalist Liberation struggle. This is what is meant by self-determination for the captive African nation. The question of Revolutionary violence for an oppressed captive nation is not a question at all. It is a mandate, a historical right and mission that is fundamentally necessary to advance the revolutionary force inside America. Our children's children's future depends upon it. The theory of force and revolutionary violence is a functional and vital part of the overall Black nationalist's democratic struggle.

The tactics are ten against one, and strategy one against ten, using a few to defeat many, and many to defeat a few. This is the law of the guerrilla. Ultimately, the strategic objective is to advance the Revolutionary Nationalist struggle to armed struggle against the racist finance monopoly state, and to seize state power inside the national territory. This may take 5, 10, 20, or 50 years, but under no conditions should Blacks compromise the objective. The fight is for self-determination, and each generation must continue to advance this cause and fight until captive Africans in America are liberated from the yoke of racism, capitalism, and cultural imperialism.

Many heroic revolutionaries have given their lives, and many comrades have shed their blood and were driven behind the walls; many innocent Black people have suffered dearly from the racist and fascist U.S. government.

By nature Black people are humble people, and humanitarians, but our humanity and culture have been fiercely decimated by the racist U.S. government. Black people have been and continue to live under the fear and threat of a police state and genocide. It is our duty to fight, and Black people must fight because it is the greatest honor and most precious deed to pay our proud tradition and humanity.

Having a correct political and military line is fundamental to our success. To understand the concept of Revolutionary violence in practice we must learn from the lessons of the FLN in the Battle of Algiers: in order to build the people's resistance movement against violence, all acts of violence against the people must be countered with retaliatory strikes. These strategic assaults must be highly secretive and calculated. These strikes against the enemy cannot be reactive or motivated by revenge, but must be strictly militarily feasible. The overall success of these assaults is the ultimate objective, and the success should bring a victory to the people, by the army, for the people. To be successful careful planning, superior intelligence, precision timing, and mobility are paramount. Retaliatory strikes must give impetus to our National Liberation struggle, and not emotional or subjective highs. The end results of all strikes must provide concrete material resources to the struggle, whether in the form of capital, military procurement, or the elimination of powerful enemies. Selective hits and kidnappings of killers of Black people should only be operationalized when substantial political organizing and politicizing has been done by the Revolutionary forces and have entrenched themselves within that specific community. This will provide an invisibility of the soldiers of the movement, and also give rise and elevate the consciousness of the masses.

However, our people must bear in mind that this form of resistance is tactical in nature, and never an end in itself. Our military tactics always support and advance our political struggle, and vice versa. We are involved in a protracted war, which demands that we be zealous, courageous, patient, unwavering, and vigilant.

Starting from these basic premises, the Black Liberation Army is the eyes and ears in our people's war. To build this army it is essential that ideological consolidation and political strategy among Revolutionary forces become concrete. This will enable revolutionary cadres and units to work toward a national strategy to refine and achieve greater predictability on political and military objectives against the racist military state and financial centers—*Straight Ahead!*

Superior training, an indomitable fighting spirit, superior firepower, and mobility are essential in turning small

isolated victories into larger coordinated victories. In preparation for all revolutionary assaults and missions, soldiers and comrades must be full of zeal and meticulous in intelligence and reconnaissance, take full account of the enemies' strengths and weaknesses, and move swiftly to take advantage of the edge with split second timing.

It is in the total success of the National Liberation struggle that Revolutionary violence has its life and can ignite the fighting spirit in the hearts and minds of the entire captive African nation. After many victories by the Black Liberation Army and other revolutionary comrades, the consciousness of Black people will ignite like wild fire.

To achieve these heights Revolutionary violence becomes a *tactical weapon*, leaps from city to city, state to state, with the same tactics and strategy, taking into consideration the particular circumstances. The assaults and attacks are against the state and the state apparatus. The state should be viewed as a military and economic machine with coordinated police powers and a right wing population that will respond to protect the state in times of crisis. The strongest weapon against the "Goliath" is to strike at its Achilles heel.

If Blacks have been insane to accept inhumanity from whites as a price to live, they now see that the cost is too dear. The resolution is to have clear standards. This requires not rebellion but revolution.

—Dr. Chester Pierce, 1969

Long live the Black Liberation Army!
Long live Assata Shakur!
Long live Revolutionary Comrades!
Long live the Black Liberation Struggle in
America!



4. Building Strategic Alliances and People's War: National Liberation Inside the u.s. Imperialist State

This is a speech given by Ahmed Obafemi in Denver at an event sponsored by the Comité de Colorado Contra la Represion in December 1981. He was speaking on behalf of the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, which is leading the political work around the New Afrikan Prisoners of War and their white anti-imperialist allies captured as a result of the October 20th Brinks expropriation attempt.

On behalf of the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, and on behalf of the New Afrikan independence movement, i bring you warm and revolutionary greetings with the battlecry of Free the Land! If i was to say good morning to most people, they would say "good morning." If i was to say good night to most people, they would say "good night." Those are greetings. So again i am going to greet you with the revolutionary greeting of Free the Land!

(audience) Free the Land!

Free the Land!

(audience) Free the Land!

If the Native Americans had sovereignty over their land, Leonard Peltier would not be a prisoner of war. If the Puerto Rican people had a free land, the FALN 11 would not be prisoners of war. If the ChicanoMexicano people had obtained already the reunification and socialization of Mexico, Kiko Martinez would not now be facing the possibility of going to jail for life. And if the Republic of New Afrika's land was free, We would not have New Afrikan freedom fighters, prisoners of war, or the Black Liberation Army 25. So the question of land, the question of free land, is the only question which We are concerned with. The only question, because the resolution of that question should in fact resolve all of the other questions.

I come here tonight not only to greet you, but to extend to the ChicanoMexicano people, their liberation movement, and to the Puerto Rican independence movement, and to the real anti-imperialist north americans, the solidarity of my people and the solidarity of our soldiers. It is not merely by accident that i come here, because there are severe conditions in the world which bring me here tonight. And that the fact is We need to talk about this situation that all of us are in. It is to talk about this situation, to talk about this empire, that has all of us in its grip. And it's to talk about how We deal with this imperialist beast.

In 1848 New Afrikan warrior/slave/rebels joined forces with the Mexican troops, which fought the armies of the United States of America, as the ChicanoMexicano people battled to resist the westward expansion of the imperialist empire. At that time the struggle of the New Afrikan slave/rebels for land and freedom had made us natural allies with the Chicano Mexicano people.

In 1508, Puerto Rico was a colony of the Spanish empire. Afrikan slaves were among the populace of Puerto Rico. Our ancestral blood ties, and our demand for control and freedom have made us natural allies of the Puerto Rican independence movement. Our enemies were the same, european imperialism, the same rich, racist, inhumane, low-down dirty dogs. As We had the same enemy, it was natural that We should aim our weapons at the same target.

We are here today because our 19th century war of resistance against white european american imperialism has yet not come to an end. U.S. imperialism has not yet been defeated. So the same problem that We face that the U.S. imperialists caused your people, and my people in the 19th century is the same problem that We face today.

In the mid-1800s my people were already enslaved in the southeast portion of what is now called the United States of America, while U.S. imperialism was colonizing the MexicanoChicano people in the southwest and the Puerto Rican people in Puerto Rico. The enslaved New Afrikan population in the southeast of the so-called United States of America had been kidnapped from Africa, taken from our land in Africa while white nations took over African land. We were colonized in North America as our brothers and sisters were colonized in Africa. In North America our people, as Africans taken from many different African nations, merged into one people, a new people, a New Afrikan people, and a New Afrikan nation. In North America in the states of the Black Belt our nation came into existence in about 1660. As slaves and after slavery, we developed the land in the Black Belt and elsewhere. We picked the cotton, and cotton eventually made the United States rich. We did not enjoy the benefit of our labor, however, and We were denied control and sovereignty over the land which We developed. We developed Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, and surrounding states. In most of these states, We were, in fact, in the majority. Soaked in New Afrikan blood and cultivated in New Afrikan labor, for three hundred years the birthplace of New Afrikan babies, and the burial places of New Afrikan ancestors, this land became New Afrika, portions of the land subject only to the just claims of the Native American population.

But We were denied our independence and sovereignty over this land by the white North American government, and We were colonized, beaten and murdered, and the Native American population was massacred and driven out. We resisted, We fought against the slave trade, We fought against slavery, We fought for land and independence in North America. We did not as New Afrikans fight against the indigenous Red Nation. But as New Afrikans, escaped slaves and freemen, We fought with the Native American population. These nations, like the Seminole Nation and the Choctaw Nation were Afro-Red Nations. They struggled for independence. Our solidarity with the Red Nations was not just an isolated event. Indeed the bonds between us have left the blood of the Red Nation running deep in the veins of almost every New Afrikan family. These blood ties flow not from the system of



New Afrikan Abraham (center rear in this drawing) served as an interpreter and leading member of the Seminole Nation in their 1825 negotiations with the U.S. government.

race and subordination imposed by the european american slave masters, but from the mutual alliance against the slave master during the period of anti-imperialist warfare.

Yet, both the Red people and the New Afrikans were denied the land in the southeast of the so-called United States that both populations had lived on, developed, and fought for. Both nations were defeated and colonized. Our nation was colonized in the southeast and the Native American nations were driven to the west. Meanwhile the land of the ChicanoMexicano people in the southwest and from the Puerto Rican people, by force of arms, by the same colonizers that denied us land in the southeast, was being taken. You were colonized on your own land and sometimes taken from your land. And as white racist settlers calling themselves pioneers moved onto your land to displace you and to seize power for the imperialist state, white terrorist organizations called "democratic clubs," Ku Klux Klan, and white mothers' sewing clubs in the 1800s pulled our peoples out of state legislatures and shot them down in the streets. And imperialists colonized New Afrikans, ChicanoMexicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Mexico, Puerto Rico and New Afrika were colonized and neo-colonized and foreigners and puppets were placed at the helm of the government of these lands.

So this is how We in the southeast, and the ChicanoMexicano in the southwest of the so-called United States became landless, and the Puerto Ricans without control of their land, became the wretched and dispossessed. And as the colonized people each and every right We had has been disrespected, including the right to liberty and life. Under the slogan of white superiority, states rights, and war against crime, We have been burned at the stake, We have been castrated, lynched and placed on chain gangs in an endless succession of acts of state-sponsored terror. In fact you under the slogan of manifest destiny, have been butchered and displaced from your land. In fact, you have been hunted and called illegal immigrants for crossing borders which are illegal themselves.

New Afrikans are common victims of terrorism. In Buffalo, New York our men have been murdered, and their hearts taken from their chests. In Jackson, Mississippi, Los Angeles, California, New Orleans, in Tennessee, our Black women have been shot down in the streets. In Oakland, California, Boston, Massachusetts, Wrightsville, and Atlanta, Georgia our children are being killed. They are killing our babies and no one goes to prison or is punished for these genocidal crimes against us. But yet, some months ago they attempted to send 16 New Afrikan people, New Afrikan men, to the electric chair for a rebellion in Pontiac Prison against the conditions which clearly no human being should live under.

So We have the same problems in the 20th century that We had in the 19th century. And technology has changed, but the colonizing system remains the same. So as the ChicanoMexicano people seeks the reunification and socialization of its subjugated territory, and the Puerto Rican independence movement seeks the liberation of the subjugated island of Puerto Rico, We seek independence over New Afrika in the southeast portion of what is called the United States of America. Together We must also support the Red population in their struggle to regain sovereignty over their land. And We must support each other in our drive to liberate our respective nations. In solidarity our respective liberation struggles must tear the guts out of this imperialist state, thereby serving our people, and indeed, serving the world.

So history brings us together again. Let us once again adjust our sights on our target and again We will find that our target is the same. That which has been built from death, destruction, exploitation and slavery, and which survives off the modern day version of the same thing, must die. That which survives off of death, destruction, exploitation and slavery of others must be destroyed. All of our nations held by the death grip of this imperialist state must be free. We must destroy the imperialist state by destroying imperialist control over us and over our respective lands.

The new president of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan who has been elected along with former CIA director George Bush, and at their side the now infamous war monger, Alexander Haig, they along with the Ku Klux Klan and killer cops now run amok on the streets. Counter revolution and state terror is the order of the day. Neocolonialist puppets in your country, in Puerto Rico, in our country, and in subjugated Black and Brown communities across the continent have been tied firmly to their strings. The imperialist state now attempts to avoid its historical destiny. It deserves to die. The smiling hypocritical Jimmy Carter is gone. The USA with Reagan, Haig and Bush have put on their harsher face and now threatens us with naked fascism. This is done to discourage those of us who seek independence from its grip, and who seek its demise. But the new growl from the old beast is really not an unfamiliar sound. We who are in the beast's empire have always known the force and fraud by which he operates. The force now breeds its counterforce. The consequences of repression, as history reflects, is resistance. Which

breeds more repression, which breeds resistance, which breeds more repression, which ultimately must breed revolution.

The future belongs to us, the dispossessed. We will not be denied. As the ChicanoMexicano people rise in the southwest for national reunification and socialism, so shall We rise for independence, land and socialism in the southeast.

Recently, the United States government has taken to calling the Black nation, the Republic of New Afrika, a terrorist nation. But the question that We must ask is who is the real terrorist? It was not the New Afrikan nation who kidnapped Africans from the shores of Africa. It was not New Afrikans who branded African people with hot irons. It was not New Afrikans who beat my sister, lynched my father, raped my mother and castrated my brother. It was not the New Afrikan nation that committed genocide on the Native Americans. It was not the Republic of New Afrika that dropped the H-bomb on Hiroshima, and napalmed the Vietnamese people. Who is the real terrorist—that is the question. The real terrorist is the U.S. government, who assassinated Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, who overthrew Allende in Chile, who helped to overthrow the legitimate government of Iran years back and installed the tyrant Reza Pahlavi, the so-called Shah of Iran. Let me tell you something. The Shah didn't die of cancer, he died of fear. That's what he died of.

It is the U.S. government that's the terrorist, that propped up the fascist Somoza regime, and you see what they did to Somoza, they blew him sky high. It is the U.S. terrorist organizations that arm the dying state of Israel which stole the homeland of Palestinians and which aids white settler colonists in Azania and Namibia, terrorizing African people. Who is the real terrorist? The real terrorists are the white terrorists of invading armies, the police, the FBI, the CIA and the likes in our communities who shoot down young Black and Brown, poor oppressed people, who shoot our pregnant women, kick in doors, terrorizing our people with guns—who is the real terrorist?

The real terrorist is the imperialist U.S. state which sent two hundred death merchants to Mississippi with four tanks, two helicopters and a host of automatic weapons to terrorize twelve children, two women, and one grandfather. And i ask you, who is the real terrorist?

And so, comrades, if We understand who the real terrorist is, then We now can better understand who the freedom fighters are. The brothers and sisters of New Afrika who struggle for land and independence are freedom fighters. And they are carrying on a tradition. And what is that tradition that they are carrying on? They are carrying on the tradition of Denmark Vesey. They are carrying on the tradition of David Walker who said that Black people in the United States were a nation within a nation. And they are carrying on the tradition of Nat Turner, and you know what Nat Turner did. He rose up to slay the slave master. In fact, Nat Turner was a member of the underground, the forerunner of the Black Liberation Army. Look at the tradition that they are carrying on. They are carrying on the tradition of Marcus Garvey. Marcus Garvey who asked the Black man, "Where is your nation? Where is your flag, and where is your army?" They are carrying on the tradition of Malcolm X, who said our struggle is not a struggle for civil rights, but it's a struggle for human rights, the right of self determination, the right to land, the right to independence, and the right to build a socialist nation. What is the tradition that they are carrying on? They are carrying on the tradition of those Black Liberation Army members who have been captured, and who have been slain on the battlefield. They are carrying on the tradition of brothers like Twyman Meyers and sisters like Assata Shakur, and the many others who have resisted United States government attempts to liquidate us.

There will be no Black holocaust. As We struggle politically for our independence, there is also a formation in our nation known as the Black Liberation Army, who functions prior to the development of people's war and armed struggle, in a clandestine way. We have an underground army in the Black nation. And you have to understand that as an oppressed colonized people who have the right to self determination, it says that We have a right to struggle for our liberation by any means necessary. And I'm not saying it, but the United Nations has said that oppressed colonized people have the right to struggle for their liberation up to and including armed struggle. And so i support resolution, i think its 3324, of the United Nations.

With respect to the revolutionary expropriation that took place on October 20th, 1981, We are very sorry that the action was not successful. And We think that every progressive, every just-thinking people, should understand this, should have no problem with what happened in Nyack on October 20th. And you should support that. Because any time that revolutionaries will risk their lives to take 1.6 million dollars to put back into the community from which it has been taken, from a low-down dirty, imperialist, capitalist dog, you must support that. Because there is no way in

this world that that action cannot be supported. Because that's our money. That is the money that We pay for this dilapidated housing that they provide for us. It is the profits made from the exploitation of our labor.

With respect to those comrades who were captured at Nyack, We salute their courage and We say that they should rest assured that We will work for their freedom, and that We will make sure that history reflects correctly their action. We say to Judith Clark, We say to Kathy Boudin, and We say to David Gilbert, our allies, We say that they have shown by their actions and their practice that they are serious when they said that they supported, unconditionally, the Black Liberation movement. We salute our comrades Brother Sekou Odinga, a very strong man, a courageous New Afrikan man, who was not only beaten immediately upon arrest, but when he was taken to the precinct, he was tortured. They put a pistol to his head and pulled it a number of times. They burned cigarettes and cigars on his skin. They put his head in a toilet and flushed it. They beat him so bad they destroyed his pancreas. But Brother Sekou stayed strong. Didn't mumble a word. Now I wasn't there, but knowing Brother Sekou, if he did anything, he probably spat in their faces.

And We salute our comrade Prisoner of War Sam Brown, who also was tortured, was beaten until he was unconscious, had his shoulder and his neck fractured to the degree he had to have a brace put on him, was picked up by this brace and thrown on the ground. And the pigs stood on his head, and he stood strong and courageous. We salute Eve Rosahn, who resisted and would not collaborate with the Grand Jury who attempted to extract information from her about the Black Liberation Movement. We salute and commend Yasmín Fula, who refused to cooperate and collaborate with the imperial state. We salute and commend sister Fulani Sunni Ali who was just recently incarcerated for not collaborating with the U.S. imperialist state. It is important that We just reflect on those few names in terms of noncollaboration.



There is one thing about all three of them, it is that they are women. They are women. The next person to be called to the Grand Juries is another women, Sister Jerri Gaines. Our information has it that Sister Sonia Sanchez was just recently terrorized, her and her child, and that another sister, Ebony, who supports the Black Liberation Movement, was terrorized, her and her child. Now the thing about these things is that these women who have children, who in most case live by themselves. Why are they trying to terrorize women? If We look around We can look at Assata Shakur, and Haydee Torres and Dylcia Pagan, and We can see that in the struggle for independence of nations inside of the imperialist state, women are playing a major role. Women are rising to the fore, and so the imperialist state feels that if they can terrorize women and children, they might be able to set back our liberation movement. But clearly We have news for them. We will not turn around, and you will not terrorize us into giving up our struggle for land and independence and socialism wherever We may reside within these borders.

In closing, our revolutionary greetings to the Black Liberation Army 25. Our revolutionary greetings to the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and to all other Prisoners of War. And i have to say this, i have to make sure our comrades understand that We love them, We support them. And they must understand that they have made supreme sacrifices and that We have not forgotten them. And that We must always remind them that top priority on what We do is to struggle for their freedom.

Now We know that some of them will be free the way We freed William Morales. And some of them will be freed the way We freed Assata Shakur. But ultimately, the only way that all Prisoners of War will be free is that if We free our respective nations.

In closing, i would like to quote from our beloved fallen comrade Mtyari Shabaka Sundiata, a brother who We have a poster of him, a brother who was killed in action, a brother whose life was dedicated to the liberation of his people and oppressed people all around the world, a brother who was murdered on the streets of New York. He was murdered. He was lying on the sidewalk after having been shot a number of times, and he was shot in the head by Detective Irwin Jacobson. And every time i speak i always like to let it be known that i always carry a message from the New Afrikan people for Irwin Jacobson, and that one day he will receive revolutionary justice.

But to quote Brother Mtyari, this is what he said, but not only did he say this, he lived it, and i quote:

"How can We talk about a nation, and not talk about an army. That's not realistic. Every nation has an army. So power to the people's army. The nation will come to fruition by revolutionary action."

And so on behalf of all the New Afrikan people, i say in closing, as our respective nations arise, the Red, the Black and the Brown, North American imperialism must and will come down.

SUPPORT AND LONG LIVE THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY!
SUPPORT AND LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED TASK FORCE!
SUPPORT AND LONG LIVE THE FALN 11!
LAND AND SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO!
REUNIFICATION AND SOCIALISM FOR CHICANO MEXICANO PEOPLE!
LAND AND INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM FOR NEW AFRIKA!
SOVEREIGNTY FOR NATIVE AMERICAN INDIANS!

Comrades: FREE THE LAND!



"We declare our right on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY." —Malcolm X